1: Braham S-4 (no date) 1954 ED1 Rumania ED1

642 these "antiquated" forms and sancrosanctly adopted the constitutional tenets of Stalinism.[2]

Compared to the earlier document the new Constitution contains certain features which seem to corroborate the complete Sovietization of the country. In fact, were it not for political expediency in the field of foreign affairs, the incorporation of the People's Republic of Rumania into the USSR as a constituent member would be only a matter of sheer formality, necessitating merely the amending of the USSR Constitution.

[648] Short of this final step, however, the new Rumanian Constitution provides, in an almost unique manner in constitutional law, for the freezing of Rumania's foreign policy by incorporating in the text friendship and alliance with the USSR. Whereas the former Constitution completely failed to mention the USSR, the present document refers to the Soviet Union and the Red Army not less than five times. The USSR is depicted as the liberator of the country, whose friendship ensures "the independence, state sovereignty, development, and flourishing" of Rumania (Paragraphs 2 and 4 of the Introductory Chapter and Article 3).

[565] The basic features of the new society are outlined in Chapter I. It defines the People's Republic of Rumania as a "state of the working people of town and countryside" (Article 1). The political foundation of the state is the "alliance of the working class with the working peasantry . . . in which the leading role is held by the working class" (Article 2). Thus, for the first time in a Rumanian constitution, the preponderance of the working class is formally acknowledged. Furthermore, the central strategic position of the Communist Party and its implicit identification with the state is, as in the USSR, legally declared (Article 86). In fact, notwithstanding the discrepancies existing between the constitutions of the people's republics, their main difference from the Stalin Constitution has thus far concerned the legal position of the Party. Whereas Article 126 of the USSR Constitution openly refers to the Party as the vanguard in "the struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system," the satellite constitutions typically make no mention of its role. The Hungarian Constitution of 1949, which until lately was considered as the most advanced, faintly refers to it in Article 56. In reference to the right of organizing, this Article asserts that the state "in fulfilling its tasks . . . bases itself . . . on the working class, led by its *advanced guard* (emphasis supplied) and supported by the democratic unity of the whole people." Even the new Polish Constitution of 1952 fails to acknowledge the exclusive role of the Communist Party. Although the provisions of Article 72 have merely theoretical importance, as

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[2] In fact, all component chapters of the Constitution proper—the Social Structure, the Supreme Organ of State Power, the Organs of State Administration, the Local Organs of State Power, the Courts and the Prosecutor's Office, the Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens, the Electoral System, the Arms, Flag and Capital of the Rumanian People's Republic and the Procedure for Amending the Constitution—have an equivalent in the Soviet Constitution. Indeed, some of the articles have been copied verbatim.

1: Braham S-4 (no date) 1954 EDI Rumania EDI

National Assembly on June 2, 1952, concerning the "Organization of the Judicature." Article 1 of the Law emphatically states that the function of the judiciary is the defense of the socio-economic structure of the state and of the rights and interests of state institutions and organizations. Furthermore, it is emphasized that the aim of the judiciary is the "education" of the citizens "in the spirit of devotion to the fatherland and in the spirit of the construction of socialism" (Article 2).

The people's assessors perform in practice a much greater function in judicial proceedings than those specified by the Constitution. The Minister of Justice is authorized to detail them from one court to the other whenever circumstances require. Thus, there are actually special teams of "people's judges" which the Ministry of Justice can use in accordance with the political interests of the Party.

Article 9 of Law No. 5 of 1952 also authorizes the courts to hear cases outside their seats if this is required "to fulfil the educational purpose of justice." Furthermore, hierarchically superior courts may take away from subordinate courts any case "in order to hear it themselves or have it heard by another court."

The required impartiality of judges is furthermore impaired by limitations imposed by the electoral laws on the right to participate in the election of people's judges. The privilege is restricted to the "democratic" elements only (Article 13, Paragraph 7, of Law No. 5). This is coupled with the provisions confining the nomination of candidates to the United Workers' (Communist) Party or to its affiliated mass organizations (Article 13, Paragraph 1).

In discussing the new role of justice and law, Vasilescu-Alba, a jurist of the Rumanian People's Republic, asserted that "all legal rules, being the expression of the will of the working class, must be understood and interpreted in the light of the class struggle." Justice is thus "an executive organ of the will of the working class." Positive law, when in disagreement with this principle, must make room for the "legal conscience of the proletariat."[3]

The fundamental rights and duties of citizens are enumerated in a special chapter. The primacy of social rights over individual rights is, as in the USSR, both functional and political.[4] Most of the rights and freedoms stipulated by the Constitution are either programmatic, circumscribed by escape clauses, or outright illusory. Thus, for instance, the provision relating to freedom of the press, speech, and assembly, as stated by Article 85, (a word-by-word replica of Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution of 1936), emphatically denies

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[3] "Statul Poliţienesc" Cronica Românească, October 1, 1950, p. 25.

[4] Professor Boris Mirkine-Guetzevitch, while recognizing the dictatorial character of all the constitutions in the Soviet sphere, makes nevertheless a distinction between the declarations of rights of the Soviet constitutions and those of the satellite constitutions. According to Professor Mirkine, whereas the declarations of the People's Republics establish the "functional" primacy of social rights over individual rights, those of the Soviet republics establish "political" primacy. See Boris Mirkine-Guetzevitch, Les Constitutions Européennes, 2 vol. Paris, 1951.

3: Roberts S-4 (no date)1951 EDl Rumania EDl

V

POLITICS IN GREATER RUMANIA

THE political history of Rumania since 1922 has been extraordinarily involved and unstable, frequently verging on the absurd but ultimately tragic. Economic circumstances outlined in the preceding section have contributed to the continuing instability both through the tangle of political issues which they have produced and through the demoralizing effect upon political life of widespread and chronic poverty. Two important qualifications must be made, however.

While it is true that the task of finding remedies to Rumania's economic difficulties was forced upon all successive administrations, the governments rarely acted on the basis of purely economic considerations. A strong economic nationalism, in part arising from the desire to defend the acquisitions of Greater Rumania against Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Russian irredentism, determined policy during most of the years after the First World War.[1]

The unhealthy condition of politics stemmed not merely from the poverty of the peasants but from the fact that they were not really included in the political life of the nation. In 1924 Professor Rădulescu-Motru observed that "The passivity of the peasantry has been the principal cause of Rumania's immorality." [2] Even the Peasant party had its ideological origins in a literary movement, and the leaders of the party were, in the main, professional men and intellectuals. To be sure, in all countries there is a divergence between the direction and active membership of a political party and the mass of the electorate, but it was carried to an extreme in Rumania because of the vast gulf which had existed for centuries between the peasant and his rulers. Parliamentary politics, including even the names of parties, had been copied from the West in the nineteenth century by sections of the ruling groups anxious to modernize Rumania. Since these imported parties had little to do with the great majority of the

1. For a discussion of the effects of national interests upon the economic policy of all the Danubian states in the 1920's see Leo Pasvolsky, *Economic Nationalism of the Danubian States* (New York, 1928). Antonin Basch, *The Danube Basin and the German Economic Sphere* (London, 1944), gives a sympathetic appreciation of the difficulties confronting these states in shaping their economic policy.

2. C. Rădulescu-Motru, *Țărănismul, un suflet și o politică* (Bucarest, 1924), p. 37.

3: Roberts S-4 (no date)1951 ED1 Rumania ED1

565 665 inhabitants, they had remained a field for partisan skirmishes among the different factions of the boyars and the growing financial and industrial interests. The limited ambit of politics was not, however, altogether the responsibility of the boyars, though most of them certainly cannot be charged with equalitarian leanings.

829 642 621 Much has been written in Rumania on the primitive state of the peasant, his inability to govern himself, and the necessity for his gradual, supervised initiation into the mysteries of government. While such writings often conceal an *arrière pensée*, they contain one element of truth: the economic role of the peasant, as a relatively self-contained and self-sufficient producer, does confine the orbit of his interests to his village. This limitation of interests has nothing to do with any shortcomings on the part of the peasant, but merely means that his economic and social life does not extend into many of the fields which comprise the necessary activities of modern governments. The immediate and obvious wishes of the peasant—such as more land, more lenient credit, and lower taxes—cannot be the satisfactory basis of a political program unless they can be related to some means of realizing them. The possibility of their direct and immediate fulfillment in Rumania was limited; the indirect measures which could ultimately improve his status—the over-all increase of the nation's productivity and capital—involved questions quite beyond his understanding as a peasant, if not as an individual.

565 In all states there is a gap between the desires of the average voter and the complexities of economic and administrative activity; in Rumania this gap was accentuated by the fact that almost four-fifths of the population was of the peasantry. Moreover, since such a large percentage of the population was devoted to one occupation, there was relatively little scope for the diversified play of economic and social interests in politics such as characterizes a more advanced society. Rumanian writers, regretting the division of their society between a formless mass of peasants and an oligarchic ruling group, have perennially pined for the emergence of a middle class. During the interwar period the base for political activity broadened somewhat through increasing industrialization, through the growth of a more numerous middle peasantry, and through strong regional interests in the new provinces, but the great bulk of the electorate was still the poor peasantry, whose chief historical means of declaring its wishes had been in sporadic and unsuccessful uprisings.

660 Partly for these reasons the extension of the suffrage after the First World War did not lead to political democracy. Politics, which retained a distinctly Phanariot flavor, was the art of taking advan-

3: Roberts S-4 (no date)1951 ED1 Rumania ED1

culture is growing apace."[33] Nevertheless, in the spring of 1948 Gheorghiu-Dej was denying rumors that the land would be taken back from the peasants, and a decree in March permitted peasants possessing more land than they could till to employ day laborers.[34]

By the summer, however, the government was emphasizing the need of "sharpening the class struggle in the countryside, organizing agricultural laborers, and fighting the rich peasant." It introduced progressive scales of taxation and forced grain delivery aimed at preventing accumulation of grain or wealth by kulak or estate owner and ultimately undermining their economic position. It set up "village information offices" with instructions to "unmask all the dishonest kulaks and inform the farmers of their duties."

On March 2, 1949, the regime, on the simple sweeping charge of sabotage and failure to comply with regulations, seized the land, livestock, and inventory which had been left to the large landowners under the 1945 reform. In this action, carried out abruptly and without prior notification, some 17,000 families were evicted from their homes at night and sent to various resettlement areas. The government now directed all its energies against the rich peasants.[35] Lenin's dictum that "Small-scale exploitation generates capitalism and the bourgeoisie constantly, daily, hourly, in an elemental way, and on a mass scale," again made its appearance and became the leitmotiv for innumerable articles.

Embroidering on this theme, Gheorghiu-Dej marked out the party line for 1949. In 1945 the landlords had been liquidated as a class, but this act fostered small-scale economic activity in agriculture. "It follows that the complete victory of socialism is impossible so long as private property in the means of production, in the towns and in the countryside, including private property in land, continues to exist." The Communist party, therefore, had a number of important

33. *East Europe* (February 19, 1948).

34. *Ibid.* (April 1, 1948).

35. The distinction between poor, middle, and rich peasant, or kulak, is not based on size of holding or amount of wealth alone and seems to take on different meanings under different political circumstances. In simplest terms, the rich peasant is one who hires labor or charges rent for machinery and equipment; the middle peasant uses only family labor but produces enough, or more than enough, to support his household; the poor peasant is unable to support himself on his holding and is on the verge of drifting into the agricultural proletariat. In 1941, 12 per cent of the land in Rumania was farmed solely by paid labor, and 24.8 per cent by a mixture of paid and family labor. The first category, in the main, represented the properties of estate owners, the second the holdings of the richer peasants. In 1948, according to Gheorghiu-Dej, 57 per cent of the rural population belonged to the small peasantry and 33 per cent to the middle peasantry.

3: Roberts S-4 (no date)1951 EDl Rumania EDl

tasks. The first was to restrict the kulaks and dislodge them from their position. Then it would be possible "when conditions are ripe, to pass over to the policy of the complete liquidation of the kulaks."[36] He anticipated, of course, that the kulaks would resort to underground struggle, sabotage, and criminal acts in an effort to avert their approaching fate.

The second task was to undertake propaganda convincing the poor and middle peasants of the need to unite in collective farms. When that task had been achieved, when all the land belonged to the collectives in perpetuity, the goal of making the land public property and bringing about the socialist transformation of the countryside would be reached. Gheorghiu-Dej emphasized, however, the necessity of making this transition gradually, by means of persuasion, and with the voluntary support of the peasant. The poor peasants should not be driven into collectives, the middle peasant should not be identified with the kulak, and the whole process must be paced by the development of agricultural machinery, machine tractor stations, and the expansion of the network of consumer and producer cooperatives as broad mass movements.[37] These words of caution presumably reflect the wisdom gained from the Soviet experiment in collectivization.

Gheorghiu-Dej concluded his remarks with the inevitable "self-criticism": in the past the party had not provided a clear political line for work in the countryside and had failed to popularize the notion of uniting the working peasantry into collective farms, and had even ignored or denied this goal.[38] That these so-called errors were the fault of the Rumanian Communists is, of course, nonsense. The party line, emanating from Moscow, had shifted, and in this instance a strong case can be made that the change had been planned long in advance. The Communists could have had no intention of stopping at the stage of small peasant cultivation which had, in any event, reached a cul-de-sac in Rumania.

The creation of collective farms got under way in 1949, and by the end of the year, according to the glowing account of a Russian visitor, 56 *kolkhozi* comprising 4,000 peasant families had been estab-

36. As in Russia representatives of the restricted and soon to be liquidated kulak class are not to be admitted to the collective farms.

37. The cooperatives, however, must rid themselves of capitalist elements, must intensify their collaboration with the state trading organs, and must promote the spirit of "socialist emulation" among the peasants.

38. G. Gheorghiu-Dej, "Tasks of the Rumanian Workers Party in the Struggle for the Socialist Reorganization of the Countryside," *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* (Bucarest, March 15, 1949).

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IT WILL be seen that structure and climate conspire together to encourage a scheme of summer utilisation of high pastures combined with valley cultivation that was much enriched when the maize plant was introduced, but this was not so long ago, and the older régime was none too prosperous both because of climatic troubles in the highlands and especially the sensitiveness of the wheat plant to abnormal seasons, and because of the hindrances to organisation arising from the diversities of language between governments and

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subjects. The encouragement of industry was not easy while some lignite and a little coal were the main sources of power, but later on it became possible to use abundant petroleum and natural gas and we have yet to see, in the

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next generation, what influence they may have. Up to the present, however, a true peasantry survives, and has increased its hold on the soil; it still makes at home a great proportion of what it needs, it still finds that in the hills the maize crop may not ripen, and old communal schemes relating to the high pastures remain important.

554 districts. Thus in the Banat, and Transylvania, the Germans and Magyars dominate commerce and industry and Magyar 563 influence has been so powerful that it has practically assimilated the Jews. In the lower Danubian ports and at Constantsa, it is the Greeks and Armenians who form the largest section of the commercial community, though in certain Danubian ports the Jewish element predominates.

461 These facts would tend unequivocally to show that the Rumanians do not possess the necessary perseverance that is indispensable for those who desire to engage in commerce. It would appear, too, that the French educational system which they have adopted helps to foster a contempt for all occupations which are not purely intellectual, and for these reasons Rumanians who claim to have received some degree of education look askance on all manual work. This appar- 565 ent aversion for commerce explains to a certain extent the absence of a Rumanian middle class, an absence which ought to be remedied, for the country is deprived of a useful steadying element which is indispensable for its normal development. As things are, it possesses a small superficial leading class, that cannot be said to compensate by its quality for its lack of quantity, and a huge mass of almost illiterate peasants that lags far behind. The example of 565 Russia proves the danger that exists for a community which 563 shows such an unstable equilibrium of classes. A solution of the problem would consist in attracting the Jews from the occupations to which they have hitherto been restricted. The Jewish problem in Russia has been solved by adapting the Jews to industry and agriculture. An exceedingly instructive and interesting article entitled "Soviet Russia solves the Jewish Problem," from the pen of Mr Wm. Zukerman, and published in the "Contemporary Review" for Dec., 1931, may well supply useful hints for Rumania. There is no doubt that if the Jews in Rumania enjoyed greater freedom of action they would not concentrate all their activities on commerce, and they would thereby offer to Rumanians more possibilities and better opportunities to engage in trade than they now possess.

INNER GLIMPSES OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

It is with no desire to cast discredit on the Rumanians that the following political happenings related in this chapter are being published, but with the intent of giving, judging from the past, a rough idea of the mentality of the ruling classes and what may be expected of them in the future. It would be utterly unfair if we were to judge them after our western conceptions and by accepting our standard of morality as a criterion. "The moral standards of a people are evolved in correspondence with the practical needs of that people" wrote our distinguished philosopher, the late L. T. Hobhouse, in his remarkable treatise "Mind in Evolution," and the auspices under which Rumania evolved were peculiarly unpropitious if we are to judge from Dr. Seton Watson's weighty pronouncement that" the Phanariot régime reduced the national and religious life of the peninsula to utter stagnation and has left its corroding mark upon the politics of every Balkan nation." ("Europe in the Melting-pot.") And the Phanariot influence was more deep rooted and lasting in Rumania than in any other country in South-Eastern Europe. In all these countries except Rumania it was a transient phenomenon, it was a virus which thought it had inculcated its poison deep within the tissues of the native plant, yet nevertheless, owing to the inherent qualities of the latter, the scourge was tenaciously fought and was being slowly eliminated. But in Rumania, unfortunately, the bane went much deeper, for the Phanariots and their retainers had come in their thousands and settled in the country for good, and their numerous descendants form to-day the *élite* of the ruling classes of the old kingdom. The basic conception of the State held by the Phanariot was that it was the best and shortest avenue to personal advancement and enrichment. He applied and lived by the maxim of his Turkish patron of yore:

"Dovleten mali denŭz
Yemeyen onou domŭz,"

which may be translated by "the goods of the State are as vast as the sea, and he who does not help himself to them is

000 no better than a pig." If we take into consideration that according to L. T. Hobhouse "the whole system of moral tradition governing the life of a society is evolved from the practical impulses and feelings at work in the past and present," we may easily comprehend that the aspects of social life as revealed by current events in Rumania, show a natural process which could not be altered or deflected except by titanic efforts of re-education. We have no right, therefore, to blame the Rumanians for what we may consider to be grave lapses, but which they prefer to interpret differently, for after all, as A. R. Wallace affirms in his "Social Environment and Moral Progress," "morality is not wholly due to any inherent perception of right or wrong conduct, but is to some extent a matter of convention varying with the degree and kind of social development attained." And this opinion is confirmed by L. T. Hobhouse, who, in his book "Morals in Evolution" states "the instinctive in human morality is by no means an unfailing power implanted by nature in all men to distinguish right from wrong." Rumanian youth continues to cherish the traditional Phanariot ambition of enriching itself through access to a public post; other careers are neglected and looked askance at. They are left to the more enterprising Jewish element, which owing to its energy and capacity has taken complete control of Rumanian trade and banking. Through the neglect of the commercial professions, Rumanians have hampered the formation of a middle class which, more than any other element, is conducive to the creation of stability and a vigilant public opinion. The public functionary class is an unstable element, and as it enjoys no security of office but depends for its tenure on the favours of politicians in power, it naturally follows that it easily lends itself to corruption, and all the more so seeing that it is disgracefully underpaid. In a lettter published by the "Argus" on 16th May, 1932, it was averred that the number of public functionaries amounted to 500,000. (Including the staff employed by municipalities). The number could easily be halved, and the administration would stand to gain both in efficiency and thoroughness by such a reduction. Greece, with a population amounting to one-third that of Rumania, had a

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insatiable passion for the means wherewith they may be secured.

Venomous rivalries are engendered and mortal envies excited in the pursuit of such narrow and base aims. Antagonism between political men in Rumania is bitter and uncompromising because they are brought into mutual conflict by personal motives. They are always absorbed in their ambitions and grievances, and they reject all compromise, ready as they are to destroy if possible their opponents, for to them they naturally ascribe the same base motives by which they themselves are impelled. As they are seldom inspired by loyalty and devotion to any higher ideal they cannot recognize that their antagonists may pursue other than purely egoistic motives. Hence the intolerance and bitterness of the feuds among political factions.

In such an environment it is the unscrupulous and the unprincipled who float to the top, and by a system of alliances between big business and political bosses that smacks of American methods, the whole machinery of State is attuned to the express purpose of exploiting the masses for the benefit of the oligarchy at the head of affairs. No wonder that such methods check the vitality and the progress of any society within which they should happen unfortunately to appear, all the more so since there is a tendency to perpetuate themselves and become a permanent system.

Professor E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin, in his "Social Psychology," says: "The men society allows to succeed and to be honoured are taken as models by the rising generation. It is in this that society receives its just punishment when it allows bad men to float to the top. Being imitated by the young, they spread their virus throughout the social body. Not the crook in the alley is the greater menace, but the crook in office."

Corruption has been instilled from above and it is hopeless to expect salvation from these upper strata of Rumanian society so far as the old kingdom is concerned. Transylvania, the cradle of the Rumanian people, which fortunately has not been contaminated by the Phanariot taint may perhaps prove the source from which eventually there may be regeneration from below by helping to reopen the sluices and

corner of Europe, has been allowed to become the prey of odious vampires, who have sucked everything dry and have even robbed us of our hope of possible salvation. Nevertheless, Providence hath granted the return of our long expected King," etc.

One is justified in expressing doubts as to the expediency of applying fascist methods in Rumania as one fails to perceive the dominating personality who might control and direct such a policy; one may also ask, where are the indispensable coadjutors to be recruited from? It can hardly be said of King Carol that he has been able to live down his unfortunate reputation so as to assume with some hope of success such a formidable task. As for his likely collaborators who, presumedly, are to be selected from among the Rumanian ruling circles, one need only peruse the posthumous memoirs of the late Rumanian Prime Minister, Marghiloman, in order to be convinced of the utter abjectness of this class. M. Pamfil Seicaru, who may be likened to the late Henry Labouchere of "Truth" for his fearless criticisms, when writing on the boundless vista of putridity disclosed by this compilation, stigmatized in the "Cuvantul" of July 17th, 1927, in the following scathing terms the leading circles of his country:—"These memoirs form a vast archive concerning turpitudes of a whole ruling class . . . the majority of this class which remained in the territory occupied by the enemy openly practised with him . . . while those in Moldavia offered a spectacle of the most trying moral bankruptcy. A parliament of speculating fugitives revealing a criminal insensibility in face of the tragedy of a whole country; one cannot imagine a more sinister divorce between a ruling class and a nation in arms. . . . And who amongst them can indict the others for their subversion of the national ideal? Can the aristocratic fugitive fragment which took refuge in Moldavia or Russia claim to represent a higher standard of morality than the section which remained in the occupied territory meekly to serve the enemy? They both form two aspects of the same filth."

As recently as May 6th, 1932, Octavian Goga, an ex-Minister and presently in intimate relation with the King, who publicly brags of being the successor designate of Prof.

565 641 Iorga, spoke as follows at Bucau: "The upper class is totally devoid of an ideal, and of a moral mainspring, while the masses are not only tired and exhausted but impregnated by sullen dissatisfaction. The whole body of the State is in a condition of molecular dissolution." And this worthy, who according to the "Dreptatea" of May 19th, 1932, "compensated himself by seizing thirteen million lei on the evacuation of his tenure of the Ministry of the Interior in 1927," a feat which won for him at the time the appropriate name of "Vacuum cleaner," had the effrontery to conclude his oration with an appeal to the youth of the country to rally round him:—"We must change the moral structure of the country, but such a change cannot proceed from the old. We must appeal to the young intellectuals to join in the building of a new structure around us. Their place is not in the building which is tumbling down, but in those which are being built up. Come on, we are sure to win." If, indeed, Carol II has set his heart on saving his country by the help of such sorry individuals, we may well pity Rumania.

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS:
THE ELECTORAL LAW

646 660 The present electoral law, which confers a premium on the party which secures 40% of the total votes cast at an election and enables it to secure 70% of the mandates in the Chamber, was due to the initiative of the Bratianus who in 1926 aimed at installing General Averescu in office. They themselves had no need of this law, as at the elections which took place in 1927, 62% of the electors voted for them. It is a law that is favourable to groups devoid of popular support, as they can very easily, when in control of the administrative machinery, so manipulate the elections as to secure the requisite 40% which would confer on them a majority of 70% in the Chamber. So that as long as this law is not repealed there is little chance of a really popular party being elected to office, except if it be entrusted beforehand by the Crown with a mandate to call a general election.

It forms actually the great obstacle to a return to constitutional government, for, thanks to it, any coterie appointed to

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at last been compelled to assume at its own expense the professional training of its youth.

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It is sad to record that even in educational institutions the remissness which has characterized Rumanian administration has not been adequately grappled with, and it is not surprising that the laxity manifested in this particular domain should appear especially odious to the national minorities in Rumania, which have a different moral conception of life than that of the predominating nationality. That there is much to be done in this department is obvious to all, owing to the persistence of the complaints. A storm of indignation was raised by the scandalous condition of the College of Salonta, in Transylvania, in which some 400 Hungarian and Rumanian students were being educated. Of this number of students, 50 per cent were incapacitated, owing to the disgusting lack of hygiene prevailing, and the anarchic system on which it was conducted. The parents of the students had to petition the Minister of Education to obtain amelioration of the methods in vogue, and the details exposed were so revolting that the *Cuvantul* of March 28th, 1929, commenting on them, more or less admitted that such facts justified the opprobrious epithet of "putrid Wallachs" conferred on the latter by the Hungarians.

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From this it may be deduced that agriculture had already been ruined through the culpable remissness of Rumania's rulers before the present crisis made itself felt. The country was caught like some disabled ship by the economic hurricane which suddenly sprang up, and materially it is suffering intensely, because in its battered condition it finds it difficult to weather the storm. Fortunately, the peasantry has been used to a life of suffering and hard toil; the peasants are patient and long-suffering to an extent inconceivable in the West. Docile and good-humoured, they put up with a situation that a Westerner would long since have found intolerable and against which he would have revolted. Poverty-stricken and unguided, the peasant has not only been left to provide the means wherewith to develop his farm, but at the same time he has been forced to supply from his own scanty resources the needs of the urban populations and the bulk of the funds requisite for carrying on the administration

241 565 of the State. It is this utter lack of consideration for this hard-pressed mass of humanity that raises the indignation of the foreign observer against those who, through the cruel irony of fate, have been called upon to look after the destinies of this luckless people. The selfishness, incapacity, and corruption of which they have given proof can only be compared to that moral disintegration existing under the Tsarist régime, and one should not feel surprise if finally the same developments supervene. The rural population is absolutely sick of the present system and has lost all faith in its politicians.

[668] An important meeting was held early in 1932 at Focşani by fruit-growers and viticulturists, who may be considered to represent the more intelligent classes of the rural population, and the prevalent opinion expressed by the delegates was to the effect that no alleviation could be expected so long as the present system was maintained, and that Bolshevism held out better prospects. This did not cause any alarm, and passed almost unheeded, save for some mild criticism from one of the veterans of journalism in Rumania, M. Batsaria, who, in an article which appeared in the *Adeverul* on January 20th, 1932, admitted that this attitude was significant, yet opined that it was not aimed against the Crown, which at the time was being very roughly handled by General Averescu in the Press campaign the latter had just launched.

241 433 In spite of the culpable neglect with which agriculture has always been treated, the industry remains Rumania's mainstay and sole hope of survival. The whole social life of the country, even its future existence, depends on the normal development of agriculture, which provides not only the food, but also the raw materials for the more promising sections of the country's budding industries, and the means wherewith Rumania can pay for the indispensable articles she imports from abroad, as well as for the payment of interest on her public debt. It is a matter of grave concern, therefore, that the average yield of cereals per hectare should have steadily diminished in the last nine years and sunk below the pre-war average of 1,130 kg. per hectare. If nothing be done to remedy this evil Rumania,

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duced a radical land reform and legislation for the provision of general public instruction. Cuza's reforms were only partly put into practice when a palace revolution, engineered by some of the *boiars*, and by army officers, deposed him and forced him into exile.

CAROL I.[1] The unificaiton of the two principalities was now achieved. It had been accomplished from above, by the same class, greatly strengthened by Rumanized Greeks and others, who for the past centuries had served foreign rulers and exploited the peasantry. It was based on the very real and strong desire of the whole people to live in a State of its own, but the achievement of this aim was completed as a result of international diplomacy and intrigues at home, not by a genuine national revolution.

The rule of Carol I was the period of the consolidation of the new State. He introduced a constitution based on the Belgian model and after fighting the Russo-Turkish War on Russia's side was recognized by the Powers as the first King of Rumania.

During his reign there was considerable progress in economic life assisted by great investments of foreign capital which enriched many landowners, a number of Rumanian capitalists and the corrupt bureaucracy, who together became organized in the Conservative and Liberal Parties: they ruled Rumania between them. In achieving nominal independence Rumania did not succeed in ridding itself of the old social system, resting on the pre-

[1] Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Prince of Rumania 1866, King 1881.
[i.e. King Carol I (1881-1914) -- Analyst]

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175 dominance of a small, wealthy and powerful land-
669 owning class. The situation led in 1907 to one of the
565 bloodiest peasant revolutions of modern times which was put down brutally by General Averescu. Significantly the peasant rising began with pogroms against the Jews who had become very unpopular as the agents of the landowners: it has often been found profitable in Rumania to divert discontent into anti-Semitic channels.

175 In 1913 Rumania joined in the Second Balkan War against Bulgaria and thereby gained the whole of the Dobrudja. During the period preceding the outbreak of the last Great War Rumania became an ally of the Central Powers through a secret Alliance made by King Carol I with Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1883. After the death of Carol and the accession of Ferdinand in 1914 the Rumanian Government remained neutral, until it entered the Great War on the side of the Allies on 27 August 1916.

GREATER RUMANIA. This decision was taken owing to the territorial gains which Russia and the Western Powers offered as an inducement and which were embodied in another Secret Treaty signed on 17 August, and also to the pro-French feeling of the ruling class. As a result, though swiftly defeated and overrun by the Germans and Bulgarians, Rumania was able, after the war, to satisfy her territorial claims against Hungary and Austria, and the weakness of Soviet Russia enabled her to annex Bessarabia. Thanks, therefore, to her Allies, Rumania emerged from the Peace Settlement doubled in area and in population.

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Rumanians under Rumanian rule. Although the great majority of the population was made up of Rumanians, about one-quarter was formed by minorities consisting of more than a dozen nationalities. The majority of the people lived on the land, only one-sixth in towns. Ethnically, the population of Rumania consisted approximately of Rumanians 73%; Hungarians over 8%; Slavs nearly 7%; Jews 5%; Germans over 4%; others 3%. About 82% of the people were engaged in agriculture and forestry.

The different nationalities living in Greater Rumania have in many cases preserved all the characteristics of their original race and land; others have absorbed the historical and cultural influences to which Rumania has been subject at various times. Both groups—and they are by no means sharply distinct from each other—have been transformed in the process of history and have influenced their neighbours and the life of the country as a whole.

THE RUMANIAN PEASANTS. The Rumanians are a simple and hardy people of peasants, used to oppression and poverty. Throughout centuries the Rumanian peasant was a serf, working all his life to satisfy the *boiar*, the tax-collector or the foreign prince. There have been only very short periods of Rumania's history when the peasant could reap and keep the hard-earned fruits of his labour. To-day, too, his fate follows the familiar pattern, only the present system of exploitation is much more efficient. It is all the more astonishing, therefore, that this people has preserved its optimism and a certain

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565 ease of behaviour, a keen sense for music and popular art and a dogged belief in its capacity to achieve progress.

[262] The life of the Rumanian peasant is simple and hard. His main nourishment consists of *Mamaliga*, a dish prepared of maize-flour, similar to the Italian *Polenta*. This forms his staple diet; meat and other [272] luxuries are very rare indeed. The national drink is *Tuica* (brewed from plum juice). The Rumanian [291] men are dressed in white trousers and a long white tunic fastened by a belt, a short jacket, and a fur cap or hat. Footwear, if any, consists of simple leather sandals strapped to the legs, called *Opinci*, similar to those of the Greek and Yugoslav peasants. In the comparatively rich regions short boots are worn. Gay embroidery, whose colouring and pattern vary according to districts, adorns all garments, especially the women's shirts and headcloths, and the aprons [342] which they wear fore and aft. In contrast to their gay dress the houses of the Rumanian peasants are usually small, badly built cottages of sun-dried brick and straw, whitewashed and occasionally [346] decorated with woodwork. The churches too are built in a similar fashion except in the mountain districts where stone and wood are used.

795 **RELIGION.** Most Rumanians belong to the Orthodox Church, but many Transylvanian Rumanians are Uniates, that is, Catholics of the Byzantine Rite. They form a link between the Latin and Orthodox 659 Churches. The Rumanian Orthodox Church is strongly national. The Uniate Church was used in the past by the Hungarian rulers of Transylvania as a means of assimilating the Rumanians in the Hun-

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435 ture of Greater Rumania. It illustrates the effects of low agricultural prices and high prices of finished goods upon the position of a predominantly peasant population, which cannot realize an adequate profit from the sale of its produce and is unable to buy manufactured goods. It is important to realize this, as it demonstrates one of the reasons for the inability of the peasants to acquire agricultural machinery and improve their methods of agricultural exploitation.

565 471 THE LAND REFORMS. By the beginning of the twentieth century the position of the Rumanian peasantry had reached a stage which could only be compared with that of Tsarist Russia before the abolition of serfdom. Over half of all the arable land was in the hands of a few thousand *boiars*. Most peasants were landless, some possessed small strips of land which were insufficient for the support of a family. Most peasants were still obliged to work for the landlords without pay, and in addition had to [427] pay taxes and other dues. In order to try and increase their income many peasants rented land from the big landowners. But as the landlord was usually the *boiar* for whom the peasant had to do forced labour and to whom he came in time of need for financial help, he soon found that he had often sold his labour power for years in advance. His indebtedness increased with surprising speed; neither his little strip of land nor, indeed, he himself was anything else than part of the *boiar's* property. The position of the peasantry grew even worse when absentee landlordism increased and great trusts managed the running of the big estates.

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This state of affairs led to the great and bloody peasant revolt of 1907 which was ruthlessly crushed by the Bratianu government with the help of troops commanded by General Averescu. Yet, even after this the rulers of Rumania were unwilling to carry out reforms which were already overdue. Only in 1917, when the position on the Rumanian front seemed completely hopeless and when the Russian Revolution found more and more adherents among the peasant soldiers, did the government of King Ferdinand decide to carry out a thorough land reform. Although this was the most far-reaching of any measures ever carried out in Rumania, it bore all the marks of a step adopted unwillingly, under the pressure of external events. Although the Bratianu government, composed of many big landowners, consented to carry out the land reform, it was violently opposed by many of the government's supporters. The reforms, as finally applied in the early nineteen-twenties in both the Old Kingdom and in the New Territories, differed considerably from the original plans of 1917. They did, however, bring about important changes. Whereas before the Great War half of all the arable land belonged to a few *boiars*, by 1930 about nine-tenths belonged to small holders and only one-tenth to big landowners.

In Bessarabia many of the big estates remained untouched; land was given to reliable farmers, Germans and Rumanian colonists, but not to the landless who needed it most. In Transylvania the land reform was used to strengthen the Rumanian as against the Magyar elements of the population. But many of the holdings remained too small to

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565 provide their holders with a fair income, and a con-
471 siderable part of the rural population remained
423 landless. Worst of all, those peasants who did obtain land were given neither implements nor sufficient financial help which could have enabled them to make a decent living. Neither of the measures which are essential to the success of peasant proprietorship —State aid in money, machinery and technical advice; or the creation of large-scale co-operative
[641] societies and banks—were carried out. Undoubtedly the extension of the franchise in 1923 to all men of 21 and the land reforms greatly strengthened the position of the peasantry in the State. But, actually, it was widespread discontent with the working of the agrarian reform that stimulated the organization of the National Peasant Party.

423 CROPS. The great devastation of Rumania during
241 the First World War and the effects of the land reform resulted in a great reduction of the country's agricultural production during the immediate post-
[439] war period.[1] Whereas the Old Kingdom alone in 1913 had grown 2,200,000 tons of wheat, of which 1,150,000 tons were exported, and over 3,100,000 tons of maize, of which 1,000,000 tons were exported, the production figures for Greater Rumania in 1921 were for wheat 2,140,000 tons, and for maize 2,810,000 tons. This great decrease is all the more striking in view of the fact that the amount of arable

[1] In Transylvania and the neighbouring territories, taken from Hungary, some of the great *latifundias* had been well and scientifically worked with modern agricultural machinery. There were some conscientious landowners among the Magyar nobility as well as absentee landlords who neglected their peasantry.

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563 177 **THE MINORITIES.** The presence of large numbers of non-Rumanians in the new State affected the fate of Rumania decisively. While the leaders of the Transylvanian Rumanians, who had themselves had a long experience of foreign rule, advocated a just and liberal policy, the politicians of the Old Kingdom[1] and especially the Right Wing, persisted in a policy of Rumanization and de-nationalization contrary to the Minority Treaties. In Bessarabia this policy was excused by stressing the danger of the spread of revolutionary movements which threatened the safety of the State, and was carried out by the military. In the territories acquired from Hungary the position of the dominant and dominated sections of the people had been reversed so suddenly and so decisively that the change necessarily had violent consequences. Moreover, here the question of the treatment of minorities was closely interlocked with that of administrative unification. The laws and regulations of the Old Kingdom and of the New Territories[2] had to be equalized. The majority of the civil servants in Transylvania were Hungarians and most of these were replaced by Rumanians from the Old Kingdom. Some of the old officials had to be retained, owing to the shortage of trained personnel, and the doubt about their loyalty to the new regime was exploited to strengthen the case for complete centralization.

1 [Provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Dobrudja--Analyst]
2 [Territories acquired after World War I--Analyst]

665 565 **SOCIAL REFORM.** The problem of social reform was the most urgent and the most hotly contested of all. The Transylvanian National Party under the leadership of Maniu, and the Peasant Party of Mihalache,

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who eventually joined forces and formed the National Peasant Party, pressed for the extension and enactment of the agricultural reforms promised in 1917. This was delayed owing to the pressure of the great landed interests who, after the disappearance of the pro-German Conservative Party, had found a new champion in the Liberals. The elections, however, brought a decisive defeat for the Liberals, and King Ferdinand had to entrust the formation of a new government to the victorious Peasant Block. In it were Dr Lupu, who in 1917 had opposed the plans for land reform on the ground that they were inadequate, Vaida-Voevod, a close collaborator of Maniu, and Mihalache, who as Minister of Agriculture proceeded to carry out the land reform.

General Averescu left this new administration within a few days in order to create a new party in opposition to the Peasant Block. Intrigues at court soon secured the fall of the government, which was succeeded by an administration headed by Averescu whose personality was a guarantee that nothing would be done to abrogate the real power of the privileged classes. At the very efficiently 'managed' subsequent elections the General secured 209 out of 369 parliamentary seats. It was obvious that he was dependent on the support of the Liberals and the bureaucracy who preferred, for the time being, not to step into the foreground. Averescu's Minister of Agriculture, Garoflid, was the spokesman of the big landowners and it was he who finally put the land reform into practice. The social structure of the country was not basically altered. Moreover, the transfer of land to the peasants now made it possible

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665 to blame other factors for whatever might go wrong
565 as there was no *boiar*-class left. The invisible, but
442 much more effective, financial control, continued to assure the rule of the same classes who had governed the country before.

665 Soon the Liberal Party again took over the
648 government. I. Bratianu was the undisputed chief of his party and had the confidence of the king. His whole policy was directed towards the strengthening of the power of the interests he represented. This, combined with his hostility towards the Soviet Union and Hungary had serious consequences which, however, became apparent only several years after his death.

643 THE MONARCHY. King Ferdinand, who had been
665 crowned at Alba Julia in 1923, died in 1927. This caused a serious crisis, for two years earlier the Crown Prince Carol had been forced to abdicate in favour of his infant son Michael. After Ferdinand's death a Regency Council of three was appointed to act in the king's name until he came of age. The Regents were naturally strongly influenced by Bratianu, but, when he died in 1928, the leader of the National Peasant Party was entrusted with the formation of a new government. Maniu secured a great electoral victory and his tenure of office was expected to bring about far-reaching changes. The new administration set about solving the minority question and the serious economic problems resulting from the incomplete land reform which instead of bettering had often worsened the lot of the peasants. Unfortunately at that time the world crisis had reached its worst stage. Although his

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especially hard hit by this rampant corruption. The moneyed classes, on the other hand, were well satisfied with this state of affairs which guaranteed the continuance of their rule.

The position of the minorities was unenviable. In theory all non-Rumanians had the same rights and duties as the Rumanians. In practice, however, things were very different. The official language was Rumanian and anybody not able to speak Rumanian was handicapped from the beginning when dealing with the authorities. It was very difficult for members of a minority to obtain schooling in their native language, for although there were some Hungarian and German schools they had to be financed by the respective communities and the fees to be paid were high. A public career for a member of a minority was very rare indeed and non-Rumanians had always to expect unfavourable treatment at the hands of the authorities. The Jews, many of whom were denied Rumanian citizenship and had to pay from time to time for the right to live in the country, were worse off than the rest. Often in addition to being persecuted for their origin they could be victimized for having a Hungarian name and speaking German as their native language.

The mass of the Rumanians did not gain by this discrimination ostensibly made in their favour. At best the half-educated sons of peasants could secure some minor position in the State machinery.

The economic life of the country was dominated by all-powerful monopolies. The oil and heavy industries were in the hands of a few foreign and Rumanian shareholders and the enormous profits were divided between a few industrialists, ministers

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of State and foreign concessionaires. State-monopolies, such as the manufacture and sale of explosives, tobacco, etc., were often leased to foreign trusts. Road building, for example, was in the hands of a Swedish company. So was the manufacture of matches sold by the State. The whole telephone system was installed and operated by a subsidiary of the American financial trust of Morgans. Nine-tenths of the oil industry were in British hands, the armaments works of Transylvania were controlled by British, French, Czech and German interests. The newly developed chemical industry of the country soon passed into German hands. As for agriculture, the export of produce was effectively controlled by several banks who were partly or wholly owned by foreign financial houses. During the nineteen-thirties pharmaceutical goods were imported almost exclusively from Germany.

THE GOVERNMENT. The most powerful of all political parties were the Liberals who were entrenched in influential positions of the administration, the army, finance and industry. Led traditionally by a member of the Bratianu family, whose name at one time was almost synonymous with that of Rumania, the Liberal Party was able to rule the country directly or indirectly up to a very short time ago. Her adherents had very little in common with the Liberals of the West, representing, as they did, the Right Wing of the numerically weak but financially and politically powerful Rumanian bourgeoisie. An electoral law introduced by the Liberal Government in 1926 stipulated that the party which had secured 40% of the votes should obtain 60% of all parlia-

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CHAPTER VI

UNDER GERMAN CONTROL

The nineteen-thirties saw an acute sharpening of the conflict between the popular forces and the Rumanian ruling class which was mirrored in all spheres of the country's life. Neither of these two was undivided. On the one side was the majority of the people—the peasants and workers and some intellectuals. On the other the court, the generals, the vast bureaucracy, the professional politicians, industrialists, bankers and big landowners. The peasantry was hardly organized and was split by national divisions, as a part of the non-Rumanian rural population supported Minority parties which were mostly opposed to united action with the corresponding Rumanian parties. The workers' movement suffered from similar divisions and from splits caused by ideological differences. Numerically it was weak owing to the small number of industrial workers. Moreover all workers' organizations were subject to the most severe restrictions.[1] The ruling class of Rumania was united in its determination to prevent any measures harming its interests. The divisions in its ranks were due to differences as to the best means of maintaining its privileged position and to competition between the established section

[1] The most vigorous Left Wing Party were the Communists, whose organizations, though illegal, continued in spite of repressive measures. They were most influential in Bessarabia, the Bukovina and the industrial regions.

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578 of this class and those who wanted to secure this
565 dominant position for themselves.

665 These divisions were complicated by the personality of King Carol and the attitudes of different sections of the ruling circles to his personal regime. One group put its trust in the royal dictatorship and included supporters of the pro-French and pro-British wing. Many prominent politicians from both great parties were attracted to this camp, the Liberals Tatarescu and Micescu, for example, and the peasant leaders Vaida-Voevod and Calinescu. Another group went over to the extreme Right Wing and supported the Iron Guard and similar but smaller organizations, and these inclined to a pro-German foreign policy. There were naturally some who tried to steer a middle course.[1]

665 Economic and financial considerations played an
648 important and often decisive part in this political alignment. The Liberals had a great interest in a pro-Allied policy as they were closely connected with British, French and American investments in Rumania. The extreme Right Wing counted on support from Germany, which was readily given, and in return it facilitated the growth of Germany's political and economic influence. Both groups had discarded both the cloak and the spirit of democracy, and their leanings towards dictatorship, varying in form but not in substance, facilitated the victory of

[1] C. Bratianu, leader of the Liberals, joined Carol's 'party' but only in order to keep his great industrial and financial interests. Maniu, the leader of the Peasant Party, remained passive. He showed sympathy to the Iron Guard in their opposition to the king's dictatorship and later joined Bratianu in seeking to restrain them: but he retained his pro-French leanings.

262 434 511 grammes (10½ oz.) daily was available on five days of the week only; on the other two days maize meal only (for *mămăliga*) could be bought. The bread ration was reduced to 250 grammes in June 1942 and maize meal itself was rationed in August. The number of breadless days has varied, while barley, flour or potatoes have at times been offered in place of maizemeal. The bread mixture has also included varying proportions of maize, barley, potato and other flours. The allowance in June 1943 was 250 grammes of bread on five days and 1 000 grammes (35 oz.) of maize flour or potato flour on each of the remaining two days. All these quantities apply to Bucarest only. Other towns show variants of these regulations, depending on local supplies.

234 435 511 The most serious shortage in Bucarest and possibly in other towns, appears to be milk. Owing to the depletion of surrounding herds following the high cost and scarcity of fodder only a small part of the former supply now arrives. Some milk, as with all products, is diverted to the Black Market, and official mistakes in price policy at various times have caused temporary gluts or stoppages in food supplies. Other livestock products and edible oil are also chronically short in the towns.

7. Food Prices

435 ●565 511 In spite of official attempts to protect consumers from increases, retail prices and the cost of living have risen almost to the same extent as producers' and wholesale prices. Taking autumn 1939 as 100, the cost of living was 330 and the cost of food 350 in the spring of 1943. These increases have been severely felt by the working and lower-middle classes. Official measures were taken to alleviate the situation of civil servants by the setting up of stores and canteens with reduced prices, some of the goods being supplied from Transnistria. Likewise firms with over 50 employees were ordered to supply them with essential foodstuffs at low prices. Persons with more ample resources make use of the Black Market on which all the ordinary foodstuffs are obtainable usually at only two to three times the official prices, the moderate character of these illegal prices being itself another illustration of the large quantities available through these channels, due to the laxity of control.

248 439 Paper, and paper mixed with hemp, are now used to substitute jute.

Although a comparatively large producer of soft hemp, Rumania normally needed to import about 2,300 tons of other hemps for special purposes, and the sources of these imports have been severed since her entry into the war.

Comparatively negligible amounts of coir were also imported in peacetime.

288 291 434 **8. Clothes Rationing**

Unlike almost all other Enemy and Occupied countries, Rumania possesses no official clothes-ration card, although purchases are restricted to a specific number of garments per year. Since 1940 the Government, anxious to avoid the necessity for a card rationing system, has adopted various means in an endeavour to overcome the shortage of textiles, particularly of cotton and wool.

Standardisation of fabrics and fixed prices were introduced in 1940, but clothing of standardised material was frequently unobtainable since the price did not leave the retailer a profit.

Army demands soon called for a great increase in clothing production, thereby reducing the stocks and greatly raising prices of civilian clothing—those for overcoats rose by 300 per cent. and for knitted goods by 400 per cent.—and the difficulty of importing raw materials soon reacted on the industry, so that by 1941 the textile shortage, particularly of bed linen, had become serious. Later in the same year, the Ministry of Supply blocked the sale of all semi-manufactured or manufactured blankets.

Early in 1942 the Government requested the public to purchase only necessities, ordering the industry at the same time to use cotton allocations for the manufacture of standardised bed linen and clothing only. Later in 1942 it was decreed that the annual allotment of garments per head of the population was two suits or frocks, one overcoat, three shirts, 12 handkerchiefs, three pairs of socks or stockings, one sheet, three towels. The sale of standard cloth was restricted to three metres per person per annum. For this arrangement, however, clothing coupons were not issued and purchasers were requested to produce their identity cards and a signed certificate of need if the purchase exceeded 300 lei.

291 435 Non-standard articles are still obtainable, but their exorbitant prices make them accessible to a limited section of the public only. Retailers are known to have refused the sale of standard cloth even when displayed, in order to secure, if possible, the higher profit margin for non-standard goods.

●[565] The members of the public most severely affected by clothing shortage and high prices are industrial workers and the poorer urban population. Though the large firms are supposed by law to supply their employees with clothing (as well as food) at cheap prices, it is thought that this is not being widely practised.

Prices of all materials for men's garments have risen to such an extent that people cannot afford to buy even such goods as are available in the shops.

248 656 To counteract shortage of clothing fibres, peasants are being encouraged by the Government to increase cultivation of flax and hemp for production of the rough cloth suitable for peasant clothing.

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Anglo-American imperialists and their Titoist agents" would try to disrupt the Party in the future as in the past, and he asked for redoubled revolutionary vigilance against "all deviations from the Party line." 661 665

Those who were not purged were vigorously educated in the same ideas which Dimitrov, Bierut and Revai had brought to the attention of their followers. They were informed that in Rumania as elsewhere one of the touchstones of conformity to the new Moscow line was to be the attitude of the Parties toward the peasants. In the early days of their power, the Rumanian Communists had aimed to make private ownership of land unpopular by proving it unprofitable. As in the other satellites, they had set high tax rates on land, imposed high indirect taxes on salt, matches and other commodities which the peasant could not avoid buying, fixed high prices for manufactured goods in comparison with agricultural produce, offered special favors to peasants who joined collectives and in other ways demonstrated the hazards and costs of independent farming with a view to bringing the peasants to favor collectivization, as it were of their own accord. Minister of the Interior Georgescu signalled the end of this era of persuasion, if it can be called that, in the spring of 1949. 661 665 565

Georgescu joined the ranks of Dimitrov, Bierut and Revai with a contribution to the Cominform journal for June 1, 1949. As an article there would be read abroad as well as at home he used more discreet language than, for instance, Revai had felt necessary in addressing the comrades in Budapest. In the main, however, his definitions and instructions followed the same pattern. There was to be "a sharpening of the class struggle in town and countryside," and he made plain, as Revai had done, that although "the main ally of the working class is the working peasantry" the working class always reserves to itself "the leading rôle." He also agreed that a civil war would not be necessary to bring in the full dictatorship of the proletariat. In Rumania as in Hungary the Soviet Army was always there "to support us." Vasile Luca, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party (Communist), followed soon afterwards with an article speaking of "the ever sharpening class struggle" and "acute class struggle in the countryside in par- 665 565

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665 565 ticular," and referring to the workers "as the sole guiding force in the country." [6] Nevertheless he seemed slightly on the defensive over the fact that after having had a free hand longer than any other Party in Eastern Europe the Rumanian Communists had only succeeded in forming to date 6,732 coöperatives of all types (consumer as well as producer coöperatives). He stressed that "mass collectivization" must wait on increased industrialization to supply needed farm machinery. And as if to forestall the jibes of Jugoslav Communists he attacked their achievements in collectivization as not only wrong in substance but as having been produced at a wrong tempo.

241 602 565 The hope of basing Communist rule on the dominance of the industrial proletariat over the peasantry seems especially ambitious in Rumania, where only about five percent of the population are industrial workers and 80 percent are peasants. It is true that agrarian overpopulation exists in Rumania and therefore a gradual shift of some rural elements to city pursuits must occur. The Communist expropriations failed (as the Communists had expected) to solve the agrarian problem because the properties still remaining undivided were insufficient to supply all landless peasants with land or to give those receiving land sufficient acreage to make them self-supporting. Mechanization of agriculture, so much emphasized in the satellite countries, will not solve the problem but will merely aggravate it by increasing the peasant's dependence on a single crop marketed under strict state control. The solution is to raise the standard of living of the peasants. This could be done by improving seeds and livestock, diversifying crops, developing home industries, improving methods of marketing, building roads, providing facilities for local food processing to avoid wastage, and consolidating separated family strips of land into efficient farming units. As rural living standards rise productivity would increase, and this would permit concurrent rises in the living standards of the industrial workers. These objective facts of the Rumanian economic structure rule out any other procedure unless it is frankly based on injustice and is indifferent to human unhappiness on a tremendous scale.

The Communists cannot, however, favor a program like the one

[6] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, August 1, 1949.

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outlined. In the first place it would be slow and costly to carry out. Secondly, it would call for skills which Communist régimes do not possess and foreign scientific information which they boast of despising. Thirdly, they in principle oppose measures for improving small-peasant agriculture, for if they succeeded the peasants would merely become more independent and recalcitrant. They therefore prefer to favor industry and neglect agriculture,[7] calculating that misery on the farms will make the peasants more amenable to collectivization or force them into great slave-labor projects like the Danube-Black Sea canal. In any case, they have not cast Rumania to play an agricultural rôle in the family of Sovietized states. Nature did so, but they are going to improve on nature.

In Stalin's original plans Jugoslavia and probably Bulgaria were destined to remain agricultural in the main and to supply the other members of the family with raw materials. Rumania, although so heavily agricultural, was to be largely industrialized. The reason for this arbitrary allotment of functions is not entirely clear. Rumania has oil and timber, as well as reserves of soft coal and natural gas in Transylvania, all of which can be developed without running counter to economic law. She also has a large reservoir of unskilled labor. But otherwise she is not adapted by natural resources and native skills to proceed with very speedy or very extensive industrialization projects, and she seems especially unsuited to becoming a center of heavy industry in view of the scarcity of her metallurgical reserves. In any case, the improvement and development of agricultural production would be the right preliminary to ambitious enlargements of the industrial plant such as are projected in the new Rumanian Five Year Plan, to end December 31, 1955.

Ana Pauker has called the new Plan "majestic." Its main purpose, she has written,[8] is "the industrialization of the country . . . on a new, advanced technical basis . . . which will insure the success of the Socialist offensive against the capitalist elements." Industrial output is to be increased twofold, with emphasis on what she called "the Stalin method" of developing heavy industry in particular.

[7] Of the Rumanian investment program for 1950, 47 percent was allocated for industry, 20 percent for transportation and 9 percent for agriculture.

[8] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, August 18, 1950.

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Evidently this is only one of the *façons de parler* which Revai explained are permissible when it is inconvenient to call things "by their real names." Someday naked force will become convenient, and then the peasants will have to give in or starve. Their remarkable toughness is shown by the fact that they have been able to sustain their present position so long. With an egg selling at 2 lei and shoes costing 2,400 lei, a farmer must sell a hundred dozen eggs to get himself a new pair of shoes; and it takes a year's crop of wheat (in a good season at that) for the owner of an average-size farm to pay for a suit of store clothes. Tough as they are, the majority who still stand aside will have to knuckle under eventually and give up their land. Others will be channelled off to work on state construction jobs, and others again will be absorbed into factories. Some doubtless will hold out to the end—angry, bewildered and inarticulate, helpless to do anything but die. Millions died in Russia.

Nationalism will also continue to be something of a factor, but in Rumania it probably will not give the Communists particular trouble. Rumanians have always considered Russia an enemy of the Rumanian nation. But if nationalism can be held in check in countries with much greater native capacities of resistance, Poland for instance, how much less chance is there for it to remain alive and aggressive here in Rumania—the first of the satellites to come under Soviet occupation, the first to receive a Communist-controlled government imposed by Moscow, the one which today comes closest to being on the same political level as the Ukrainian or the Usbek Soviet Socialist Republic?

In March 1950 Patrascanu's name came back into public discussion as a result of reports in *Borba* and other Belgrade journals that he was to be made the chief performer in a spectacular trial on the Rajk and Kostov model. The reason these predictions did not materialize probably was that Moscow did not see pressing reasons to give Rumania any more lessons for the present. If Patrascanu should be tried later for nationalism, Titoism or spying for the West it would be because the people were starving and because when bread is lacking they must be given a circus. It will not indicate that there is (or probably ever has been) a very strong current of inde-